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ABSTRACT

The literature on gender and leadership constitutes a discordant, often contradictory, and typically atheoretical collection of findings. This situation exists despite the emerging psychology of women, heightened public awareness, and increasing numbers of women in positions of authority. Terborg and Ilgen (1975) took the first step toward producing a theoretical integration which may unify research in the area. They examined stereotypes, attribution theory, and equity theory. A review of the literature on gender and leadership and extension of the theoretical analysis of Terborg and Ilgen resulted in the creation of a descriptive model in which behavior is driven by stereotypes. Women are perceived to lack the attributes required of successful managers. They are given unchallenging assignments lessening their organizational ability. When in supervisory roles women are expected to be high in consideration behavior and low in aggressiveness. Even when their behavior does not evidence this trait, they may be perceived by their co-workers to have this trait. These perceptions cause women to be passed over for promotion and relegated to relatively minor tasks. This low level of responsibility is manifested in lower salaries for females than for males. This vicious cycle continues without the act of overt sexual discrimination. A five-page reference list concludes the document. (Author/ABL)

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## Abstract

The literature on gender and leadership constitutes a discordant, often contradictory, and typically atheoretical collection of findings. This situation exists despite the emerging psychology of women, heightened public awareness, and increasing numbers of women in positions of authority. Terborg and Ilgen (1975) took the first step toward producing a theoretical integration which may unify research in the area. They examined stereotypes, attribution theory, and equity theory. The present paper reviews some of the available literature on gender and leadership, extends the theoretical analysis of Terborg and Ilgen, and presents a descriptive model based on those studies which lend themselves to theoretical integration.

The emergence of the psychology of women (Denmark, 1977) has produced relatively few firm conclusions regarding females in positions of organizational leadership. Recent legislation and heightened public awareness have provided the impetus for an increase in the number of women holding positions of executive responsibility (Jackson & Koch, 1977). The literature focusing on female leadership, however, is generally amorphous and often contradictory. One means of arriving at an integrated and consistent view of female leadership may be by investigation of the phenomenon from the perspective of established theory. By working within the relatively structured framework of social psychological theory, it may be possible to progress in a logical and productive fashion.

## Background

Yerby (1975) advocated the use of available studies in small group communications to draw conclusions about the major variables affecting female leadership in small problem solving groups. In Yerby's own study, in which college students engaged in a role playing exercise, sex composition of the group and sex role attitudes of the members emerged as major factors. Yerby found that gender composition itself is a "'message' sufficiently potent to influence the outcome of a leadership situation" (p. 168). Bullard and Cook (1975), however, reported dissimilar findings in a study in which college students interacted in puzzle solving groups. Leader sex did not influence group productivity or member ratings of the group's pleasantness.

Investigations of personality traits have also failed to yield a clear-cut picture. In a "cost of yielding" experiment, Schopler and Bateson (1965) found that college women yielded to a partner more often when the partner was highly dependent than when the partner was independent. The authors concluded that women in leadership roles are apt to show high consideration for others. Megargee (1969) studied the relationship between dominance, as measured by the California Psychological

Inventory, and college students' choice to assume leadership in a dyad. In both masculine and feminine tasks, women high on the dominance scale were reluctant to assume leadership over men who were low on the scale. In 69% of the cases, female subjects made the choice of who was to assume leadership of the dyad, and 91% of these high dominance women chose their low dominance male partner rather than themselves. In an earlier study (Megargee, Bogart, & Anderson, 1966), high dominance college males had tended to assume leadership over low-dominance males.

Bartol (1974) investigated the effects of the leader's need for dominance on follower satisfaction with college students engaged in a simulated business game. An appointed leader position was employed as a means of reducing role conflict -- by legitimizing the need for dominance -- in high dominance women. Bartol concluded that female leaders with a high need for dominance (as measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Scale) do not adversely affect follower satisfaction. Male follower groups were more satisfied with high-dominance female leaders than with those low in dominance. However, using a sample of employees in an academic institution, Petty and Lee (1975) found a tendency for male subordinates to be more satisfied with female leaders high in consideration than with those high in structure. This interpretation was based upon correlations between responses to the Supervisory Behavior Description Questionnaire and the Job Descriptive Index. Bartol and Wortman (1975) reported that, from the point of view of the subordinates, the sex of the leader has little effect on perceived leader behavior, job satisfaction, or the relationship between perceived leader behavior and satisfaction with the supervisor. This conclusion was based on psychiatric workers' responses to the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire. Butterfield and Powell (1981) also reported that manager sex had little impact on perception of leadership style. In a sample of health services managers, Matteson (1976) observed that women displayed a more favorable attitude than men toward female supervisors. There was also a low negative correlation ($r = -.27$) between years of work experience and total attitude score (with the effects of age partialled out) on the Women as Managers Scale, an instrument designed to

assess attitudes toward women in managerial roles. Matteson interpreted this finding to suggest that, at least to some extent, workers (irrespective of sex and age) display less positive attitudes toward female managers as work experience increases. Jacobson and Koch (1977) cited a growing body of literature suggesting that female leaders are evaluated differently from men, usually more negatively, even though their respective performances may be equal.

Chapman and Luthaus' (1975) review of the literature led them to conclude that there probably is a sex difference in leader behavior: women tend to be more accommodating than men. Shockley-Zalabak (1981) found, however, no difference between men and women in relationship oriented behavior in conflict situations. Chapman (1975) opined that a woman might be expected to become more task-oriented as the number of males under her supervision increased. Maier (1970), using college students in a role playing situation, found female leaders to be more permissive and less likely than their male counterparts to adopt management-stlye resolutions when the solutions to problems were not "planted" by the experimenter.

Theoretical efforts and empirical studies on general organizational climate also have failed to produce a coherent pattern. Drawing from a field study of "token" women in a large male-dominated corporation, Kanter (1977) theorized that tokens in an organization consistently have three phenomena associated with them. First, visibility is heightened and the woman captures a disproportionate share of attention. High visibility leads to performance pressure. Polarization, the second phenomenon, occurs when the difference between the token and dominant (i.e., male) members of the group are exagerated. This situation leads to a tightening of the group's boundaries. The third phenomenon, termed assimilation by Kanter, is the distortion of the token's attributes to fit pre-existing generalizations about the social type (women in general). Stereotypical assumptions and mistaken attributions made about women tend to force them into playing such caricatured roles as the nurturant "mother," the tempting "seductress," the mascot-like "pet," or the tough and dangerous "iron maiden".

The role, which may be centered on a single behavioral tendency displayed by the woman, becomes a trap, and may encapsulate her. An image is developed of the woman's place in the group, and she experiences pressure to live up to that image. The woman's role establishes for the men in the organization, Kanter theorized, an acceptable response to her sexuality. Chacko (1982) found that female managers who perceived themselves to be tokens had less organizational commitment, experienced more role conflict and ambiguity, and had less satisfaction with their work, their supervision, and their co-workers than did female managers who felt that sex had not been an important factor in their selection.

Chapman and Luthaus (1975) have remarked that female leaders generally tend to be unaccepted by the group they lead, and that the organizational structure tends to be nonsupportive of female leadership. However, in situations in which women typically have been accepted in managerial positions -- in such organizations as all-female military units -- there appears to be no difference in leadership style or behavior from that of men. When the woman is placed in a male dominated activity, however, social role stereotyping becomes a potentially important determinant of behavior. Chapman and Luthaus predicted (as have George & Smith, 1978; Jacobson & Koch, 1977; Lockheed & Hall, 1976) that effective female leadership can be forthcoming if the organizational situation can be made to support the woman leader.

Although the nature of the task was assigned relatively minor importance by Yerby (1975), others have found it to have some impact on female leadership. Investigators (Briefe & Wallace, 1976; Deaux & Emswiller, 1974) typically determine the gender appropriateness of a task by conducting pilot studies in which it is rated on a masculinity-femininity dimension. Briefe and Wallace observed no bias among college students or librarians in organizational reward allocation as a function of the sex of a hypothetical stimulus person performing a neutral job. Milton (1959) observed that sex differences among college students in the number of mathematics problems solved were reduced when the problems were oriented

toward typically female rather than toward typically male activities. For example, a problem involving Sally the Cook cutting cookies was considered appropriate for the female role, whereas a problem involving Snuffy the Tramp rolling cigarettes was considered appropriate for the male role. Milton suggested that, on a task of this kind, subjects respond partly to the stimulus properties of the immediate situation.

Smith and George (1980) conducted two independent experiments. A pilot study indicated that the task employed in the first was male stereotyped while that used in the second was female stereotyped. In the first experiment, an aviation simulation was used to investigate the effects of female leadership in an appointed leader, male stereotyped situation. The subjects (college students) were assigned to triads under the following conditions:

1) male leader with male followers;
2) male leader with female followers;
3) female leader with male followers; and
4) female leader with female followers.

No significant differences in problem-solving effectiveness were noted, although groups displayed a small but reliable trend toward higher general satisfaction when under male leadership. The finding of no performance difference was similar to that of Bullard and Cook (1975) and failed to support Yerby's contention that member gender is an important variable in female leadership. Not replicated was Milton's (1959) finding of lower performance by women than by men when the task had been judged more appropriate for the male.

The second experiment by Smith and George was designed to parallel the first. In a simulated work environment, the appointed leader role was investigated with a female-stereotyped editorial task. General satisfaction ratings were not affected by leader gender. Female-led groups believed that women were better than men at the task, and male-led groups

were more comfortable with the task than female-led groups. While both of these effects were reliable, they were relatively small. One strong trend was evident. Even in this female oriented situation, males were more comfortable in the leader role than were females. This finding provided further support for Schein's (1973, 1975) managerial stereotype, which is explained in detail below. Men may have been more comfortable than women because they, unlike females, perceived themselves to be well-suited for the managerial role.

The general state of confusion in the literature has prompted the view (Osborn & Vicars, 1976) that those sex differences which have been reported are due to laboratory artifacts, and that such differences are not found in field investigations. The most salient laboratory artifact described by Osborn and Vicars is the elicitation of readily available stereotypes in the short-term, artificial experimental situation. Longer-term, real life settings were thought to involve extensive interpersonal contact which provides subjects with a more realistic basis for their behavior. Ezell, Odewahn, and Sherman (1981) have provided some support for this notion in studies of male and female managers in state public welfare agencies. Rose (1978), however, reviewed a growing body of literature suggesting that sex-related effects on many personnel judgments are prevalent in managerial settings. Differential effects of task type have been cited (Calder & Ross 1977; Smith & George, 1980) as a possible source of some of the confusion and as a potentially useful area for increased investigation.

## Toward Theoretical Integration

The preceding section indicates the tenor of the literature on female leadership. Generally, it constitutes an amorphous, often contradictory, and typically atheoretical collection of observations. Although some attempts have been made (notably Taynor & Deaux, 1973; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975) to operate within theoretical guidelines, such attempts have been the exception rather than the rule.

A rather large body of literature has been amassed dealing with stereotypes, and a few studies have emerged dealing with attribution theory and equity theory. A feasible strategy for approaching an understanding of female leadership would be to integrate the few structured lines of research available.

Terborg and Ilgen (1975) made the initial step in this direction. Their study was intended primarily to investigate occupational sex discrimination at two points:

1) when applicants sought access to the organization; and
2) once the individual had secured employment.

Male management students (N=36) participated in an in-basket simulation in which administrative problems were presented within the masculine context of the engineering profession. Participants were observed to hire females as frequently as identically qualified males, but at significantly lower starting salaries. The differential increased when a second-year salary was offered. Females, once having been admitted to the organization, were assigned to routine tasks more frequently than males. Terborg and Ilgen concluded that stereotypes were demonstrated in the ratings assigned to applicants. The observed tendency to attribute female success to luck rather than skill was interpreted as being supportive of attribution theory. The involuntary constraint hypothesis of equity theory (Leventhal & Michaels, 1969, 1971), which predicts greater perceived inputs from

individuals operating under involuntary constraints, was not supported. Although women were perceived as being constrained in the masculine situation while men were not, females did not receive larger rewards than equally performing males.

Smith (1979) also has reported an experiment on manager sex, attributions, equity, and stereotyping. He studied 120 college students in a business in-basket task. The subject acted as director of a hypothetical, simulated organization which ostensibly was comprised of computer models of the personality and behavior patterns of actual federal employees. The task had been rated earlier as being masculine in nature. Each student worked under one of three feedback conditions. Computer printouts indicated that, of two assistant directors of different gender, the female outperformed the male, the two performed equally, or the male was the better performer.

Results indicated that high performing subordinates, regardless of sex, were given higher skill attributions than mediocre or low performing subordinates. There was no indication (contrary to Deaux & Emswiller, 1974) of differential skill attribution for equal performance by males and females. Mean skill attributions also were found to be slightly higher when both subordinates were mediocre than when a clear performance difference existed. Further, subjects were observed to attribute the same skill levels to female subordinates who equalled the performance of a male as to those whose performance exceeded that of a male.

In the equal performance condition, male subjects awarded more promotions to male subordinates than to female subordinates. This finding was counter to the involuntary constraint hypothesis of equity theory (Leventhal & Michaels, 1969, 1971). Basic equity theory (Adams, 1963, 1965) was supported by the finding that the amount of merit raise awarded was a function of perceived organizational input. A trend was observed which suggested that, in the allocation of organizational rewards, male subjects may have been more sensitive than females to feedback.

Subjects of both sexes were observed to spend more time on difficult/important problems relative to trivial issues when the male subordinate was portrayed as performing more effectively than the female. Subjects of both genders delegated more simple/unimportant problems to female subordinates than to males. Likewise, subjects delegated more difficult/important problems to males than to females. This finding conflicted with that of Mai-Dalton and Sullivan (1981), who found that subjects preferred stimulus persons of their own sex for challenging tasks.

The following sections constitute an expanded discussion of the three concepts (sex role stereotyping, attribution, and equity) central to the foregoing analysis.

## Stereotypes

Mischel (1966) has defined sex-typed behaviors as those which typically elicit rewards as a function of the sex of the performer. The acquisition and performance of these behaviors may be described by the same learning principles used to analyze any other aspect of behavior. Early in childhood, the individual learns to discriminate between sex-typed behavior patterns, to generalize from specific learning experiences to new behaviors, and to perform sex-typed behavior. According to Anastasi (1958), most children have acquired a clear-cut concept of sex roles, those behaviors which have been defined culturally as appropriate for a particular sex, even before school entry. Thus, both sex-typing and role stereotyping are traits which have become firmly established by adulthood.

Considerable evidence exists (Calder & Ross, 1977; Day & Stogdill, 1972; Fidell, 1970; Heilman & Guzzo, 1978; Jacobson & Koch, 1977; O'Leary, 1974, Rosen & Jerdee, 1974; Schein, 1971; Shaw, 1972; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975) that discrimination against women occurs along many dimensions. Terborg and Ilgen (1975) have indicated that the existence of pervasive and persistent sex role stereotypes may be one of the most important single

processes which present barriers to women in organizations, especially in the male dominated fields of management and science. Management and the general public seem to accept stereotypes and to resist successful integration of women into positions of authority and responsibility. Men are seen to be independent, objective, competitive, and otherwise better suited to handle management and scientific responsibilities. Women, on the other hand, are perceived as gentle, sensitive, passive, and less capable of handling responsible business positions. In other words, women are assumed not to possess those traits which have been stereotyped as essential for job success. However, Terborg and Ilgen cited a body of research which indicates that women have been reported as being similar to men in vocational interest, sources of job satisfaction and motivation, leadership ability, problem solving ability, cooperation and competition, and potential managerial capability. These authors also have noted that in research that has suggested the effects of sex role stereotypes (such as Fidell, 1970; Rosen & Jerdeen, 1974), the stereotypes have been inferred post hoc -- sometimes without actual measures to support the assumption of their existence.

Schein (1973, 1975) has provided two of the most widely cited illustrations of the stereotyping concept. Schein (1973) sampled 300 male mid-level insurance managers. Subjects completed one of three descriptive indeces -- of men in general, women in general, or successful middle managers. Interclass correlation coefficients indicated that successful middle managers are perceived to possess those characteristics, attitudes, and temperaments more commonly associated with men in general than with women in general. All other things being equal, the perceived similarity between men in general and successful middle managers would seem to increase the likelihood of promotion discrimination against women. Schein also commented that since requisite characteristics of successful managers and men in general are closely related, women may suppress the exhibition of many managerial job attributes in order to maintain their feminine self-image. The different stereotypes of men and women were slightly reduced among older managers.

Schein (1975) replicated this study with a sample of 167 female middle managers and found women as likely as men to maintain stereotypes. Schein commented that women were as likely as men to make promotion, selection, and hiring decisions in favor of men. The relation, however, between sex role stereotypes and perceived management characteristics was greatest for those with limited managerial experience (1-4 years). Age did not moderate the effect.

There is much evidence to support Schein's concept of stereotyping. Several studies (Cecil, Paul, & Olins, 1973; Cohen & Butler, 1975; Hamner, Kim, Baird, & Bigoness, 1974) have reported differential evaluations of males and females. Schneier (1978) and Smith and George (1980) have indicated that males may be more likely than females to see themselves as leaders. Calder and Ross (1977) noted that discrimination occurring when males supervise females is likely to be seen as appropriate and natural. Thus, women may tend to react more strongly to discrimination from other females than from males. Also, women may react more strongly when they are prohibited from performing neutral rather than masculine jobs. Heilman (1979) reported that the projected sexual composition of an occupation influenced the degree to which high school students considered it a viable career choice. Projected increases in the number of women in a field made that career option more attractive to females and less attractive to males.

Petty and Lee (1975) reported high positive correlation between consideration behavior by female supervisors and job satisfaction among subordinates. Negative correlations were reported between consideration by male supervisors and subordinate satisfaction. These findings are consistent with the idea that sex role stereotypes require women to be considerate and men to be assertive. Similarly, Bartol and Butterfield (1976) observed that women who became more structuring and men who became more considerate (when compared to opposite-sex managers of the same style) may be rated as less effective.

Hagen and Kahn (1975) reported that in a laboratory study, male and female subjects were more likely to exclude a competent woman than a competent man from their groups, and males liked competent women only when they observed their behavior and not when they interacted with them in cooperative or competitive situations. Kahn found that the greatest tendency toward group exclusion and negative affect toward competent women was expressed by men who were beaten by women in competitive interactions. The authors attributed this observtion to dissonance reduction. Since men expect themselves to perform with greater competency than women, being beaten by a woman produces a greater loss of self-esteem -- and thus, greater dissonance -- than merely observing a high performing woman. Aronson (1969) has indicated that dissonance is greatest in situations in which a loss of self esteem is involved. Punishment of competent women -- by group exclusion and negative affect -- is the manifestation of dissonance reduction.

Terborg and Ilgen (1975) found stereotyping to be a less prepotent variable than previously had been believed, and not applicable to all areas of organizational behavior. Using the Women as Managers Scale, Terborg and Ilgen observed that stereotyping may have serious effects only at the time when a woman attempts entry into an organization while relatively little is known about her potential. However, the effects of stereotyping may diminish as more information about the person is obtained and it becomes increasingly easy to distinguish her from the undifferentiated members of the category of women.

Attribution

Attribution theory provides a second approach to the study of gender and leadership. In an early work, Heider (1958) classified two general areas of force, personal and environmental, which enter into the production of an action. The attribution of personal causality is a function of the estimated extent to which personal force has determined the effect. Personal force can be placed into two broad categories: ability (which is basically stable) and effort (which is variable). Environmental force is composed of such stable dispositional factors as task difficulty and such unstable factors as luck. Kelley (1967) added that attributions will be made primarily to such stable factors as ability and task difficulty when a stimulus person behaves in a manner consistent with the perceiver's prior expectations. Jones and Davis (1965) hypothesized that when a stimulus person's performance is at a level other than that expected by the perceiver, attribution will be made primarily to unstable factors such as effort or luck.

Deaux and Emswiller (1974) applied attribution theory to the gender issue. Subjects evaluated comparable performance on a masculine task by either a male or a female stimulus person. Although performance was evaluated as equally successful for both the male and the female, attribution was made to different factors. Male success was attributed more to the stable dispositional factor of ability than to the unstable factor of luck. Female success was an unexpected outcome and was attributed more to luck than to ability. Deaux and Emswiller reported that what was rated as skill for the male was seen as luck for the female.

Terborg and Ilgen (1975) extended this theory to the business context. Managers may perceive that women do not possess the decision making skill or aggressive competitiveness needed for supervisory success. Also, women may not be perceived as being particularly interested in traditionally male occupations. Therefore, in order to maintain cognitive consistency, a male manager may attribute a woman's successful performance in a masculine

occupation to such unstable factors as luck. There may, however, be no differential attributions along the dimension of ability versus effort.

Taynor and Deaux (1973) required male and female subjects to read descriptions of either a male or female stimulus person performing well in an encounter with a gunman. Pretesting had confirmed the masculinity of the stimulus situation. The subjects allocated rewards and evaluated the performance, effort, and ability of the stimulus person. The results indicated that effort, an unstable personal attribute, was used in preference to ability, a stable personal attribute, in explaining superior performance by the female stimulus person. Taynor and Deaux concluded that when a man and a woman perform the same act with equal competency in a masculine situation, the woman is perceived as:

1) more deserving of reward than the man;
2) outperforming the man; and
3) expending more effort than the man.

Heilman and Guzzo (1978) noted that the causal explanations typically used to account for a woman's work success are luck, effort, and relatively low task difficulty. Ability is usually used to account for a man's success. This differential attribution process may produce a tendency for fewer and less desirable organizational rewards to go to women. Heilman and Guzzo concluded that differential causal explanations arising from sex differences, not sex differences themselves, may result in unequal treatment for equally successful men and women.

## Equity

Equity theory provides another theoretical framework for understanding the processes influencing the perception of women in traditionally masculine roles. Adams (1965) postulated that a member of a dyad (P) attempts to make his/her own outcomes and those of the second member of the dyad (O) proportional to their respective inputs to the relationship.

Outcomes are the rewards and satisfaction which P believes each member of the dyad to be receiving. Inputs (e.g., effort, duration of performance) are traits and behaviors for which P believes a given member of the dyad should receive reward. Individual units are weighed according to their perceived importance in determining the final value of the ratio of outcomes to inputs. Equity occurs when P perceives that the ratio of his/her outcomes and inputs is equal to that of O. Inequity results in tension. This tension generates action to restore equity.

Leventhal and Michaels (1969, 1971) have extended equity theory to persons who allocate rewards (or outcomes) to others, generally. Leventhal and Michaels (1969) stated that P's evaluation of O's inputs is strongly affected by the level of performance which P expects from O. The more of the performance of O exceeds P's expectations, the higher will be the level of input which P attributes to O. Conversely, the more the inputs fall below expectations, the lower will be the level of input which P attributes to O. The level of performance expected by P is not a fixed value but varies over time and situation. A major determinant of the level expected by P is P's estimate of the performance level which an average individual can attain under normal conditions. A second major determinant of P's expectancy is his knowledge of constraints beyond O's control which limit performance. Such constraints may be perceived as either internal (the characteristics of O) or external (the work environment). The greater the external constraints under which P believes O to be operating, the lower will be the level of performance which P expects from O.

O'Leary (1974) outlined involuntary restraints on working women which may create barriers to job-related aspirations and inhibit the expression of upward occupational aspirations. External factors include:

1) sex role stereotypes;
2) attitudes toward female managers;
3) attitudes about female competence; and

4) the prevalence of the "male managerial model."

Internal constraints include:

1) fear of failure;
2) low self-esteem;
3) role conflict;
4) fear of success; and
5) the perceived small amount of reward to be gained for assuming increased responsibilities.

Women also have been shown to score lower than men on the Occupational Aspiration Scale. It had been suggested (Morocco, Wilson & Floyd, 1981) that this effect may stem more from a desire to avoid negative results as a consequence of expressing high aspirations than from actually harboring lower aspirations than men.

Leventhal and Michaels (1969) noted that as external constraints on O increase, P may attribute greater inputs to O for a given level of actual performance. Terborg and Ilgen maintained that this involuntary constraint hypothesis can be applied easily to Taynor and Deaux's finding. Women were perceived to be operating under involuntary constraints, and were thus perceived as more deserving than men of reward for an equivalent performance. However, in Terborg and Ilgen's study, the lack of a relationship between involuntary constraints and the attributional factors of perceived ability and effort led the investigators to comment that their study failed to support the constraint hypothesis.

Terborg and Ilgen stated that the implications of equity theory for women in management and science are profound. In masculine tasks, women may be perceived as having fewer inputs than men. To maintain perceived equity, supervisors allocate fewer rewards to them. However, if the woman is perceived as operating under involuntary constraints, she may be seen as producing more inputs than her male counterpart. So, under the constraint

hypothesis, she may receive greater rewards than the man and enjoy a higher probability of promotion.

## A Model

Integration of the central tenets of stereotyping, attribution, and equity theories leads logically to the formulation of a model to explain at least some of the observed relationships between gender and leadership. An understanding of these principles is important because of the male dominance which exists in many American institutions.

Stereotyping is the most ubiquitous and subtle of the factors which may lead to differential treatment of women. Schein (1973, 1975), Terborg and Ilgen (1975), Smith (1979) and others have observed discriminatory behaviors or attitudes which can be linked to sex role stereotypes. Further, Schein (1975), Schneier (1978), and Smith and George (1980) have indicated that self perceptions can be linked to stereotypes in the leadership context. Also, Hamilton (1979) has asserted that stereotypic conceptions of another person can bring about behavior in that person that does, in fact, confirm the stereotype.

While comtemporary attitudes inhibit overt discriminatory practices against women, more covert acts remain likely. For instance, the delegation by management of simple, unimportant tasks to women while reserving more challenging and important (and thus more visible) assignments to males is a likelihood (Smith, 1979; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975). This may contribute to a tendency for managers -- especially males (Smith, 1979) -- to promote males over equally qualified females.

Further, there is evidence (Calder & Ross, 1977; Petty & Lee, 1975) that male and female supervisors are expected to perform differently. Males can be assertive and are comparatively unlikely to be censured when

they engage in discriminatory behavior toward females. Women, however, must be considerate and careful not to discriminate against other women.

Attributions for success also may be subtly different. Successful females may be regarded as lucky, while successful males may be viewed as skillful (Deaux and Emswiller, 1974). Achievement by females equal to that of males may be explained as the product of comparatively greater effort (Taynor & Deaux, 1973). These phenomena may occur in the traditionally male business context (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975), and thus strengthen the effects of stereotyping. Any achievement by a female may be attributed to factors other than ability or the possession of appropriate managerial attributes. Thus, females may be overlooked for important assignments or promotions.

The effects of sterotyping on attribution also can be explained in a cognitive context (Hamilton, 1979). Stereotypes may function as cognitive schemas, influencing the encoding, interpretation, retention and retrieval of information obtained about members of stereotyped groups.

The nature of these biases may be such that they maintain the stereotypic belief: evidence is perceived which indicates that the schema employed is useful and appropriate. This phenomenon may occur through a selective perception process - evidence is "seen" that confirms stereotypic expectations, even when such evidence does not, in fact, exist - and through differentiated attributions regarding the target person's behavior. Attribution of behavior that confirms the stereotype is made to internal dispositional characteristics, while disconfirming behavior is attributed to external factors. The use of the stereotype tends to reinforce its apparent utility.

The principles of equity theory, to a lesser degree than those of attribution theory, also can be related to stereotyping. Terborg and Ilgen theorized that women may be perceived as making fewer organizational inputs than men in masculine tasks. This perception, stemming from stereotypes, would lead to fewer rewards for females.

Thus, integration of the three theoretical lines would produce a model of behavior which is driven by stereotypes. Women are perceived, by observers of both sexes, to lack the attributes required of successful managers. Their co-workers tend to elicit behavior inconsistent with the managerial model. They are given unchallenging assignments, lessening their organizational visibility. When they are successful, they are perceived to have worked harder or to have been more lucky than equally successful males. When they are in supervisory roles, women are expected to be high in consideration behavior and low in aggressiveness. Even when their behavior does not evidence these traits, they may be perceived by their co-workers to display them. Since these perceptions imply lack of ability, women are passed over for promotion, and hence are relegated to yet more relatively minor tasks. This low level of responsibility is manifested by receipt of proportionately lower salaries than their male peers. The vicious cycle continues even without commission, on the part of the organization or individual co-workers, of overt sexual discrimination.

## A Concluding Remark

It may be that bias against any given classification of people is moving from open, conscious, admitted discrimination to the more subtle types discussed here. If so, the next stage might be a total extinction of biased response. In such a case, the model presented here may be of limited, historic interest. On the other hand, the model may represent a general transition stage through which a society moves each time it liberalizes its approach to a group against which it had previously discriminated. The effect of this transition may be diminished effectiveness of efforts to eliminate discrimination. As Korach (1981) has pointed out, even full compliance with equal opportunity legislation will not remove the problem as long as people are unaware of unconscious stereotyping.

A fruitful research design in the current era requires that participants be provided opportunities to discriminate in nonobvious ways. It appears likely that current sanctions against discriminatory acts inhibit the overt expression of such acts. Discrimination may still occur, however, when the subject is not aware that his or her behavior will eventuate in an unfair judgment.

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